2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

(113)

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of
101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there
197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit
(177) reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/,
(182) and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

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[114] One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 [361] [177] Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multiplicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Preto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafliguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 563 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

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177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--23 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 563 177 78 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

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304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 [147] [482] [164] Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
• 182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

2: Schaden--32 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno [582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high [182] degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

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2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type 291 177 609 156 have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--47 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

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2: Schaden--48 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

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In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

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The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

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244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. [434] And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 22 [71] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

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263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, fio I, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

2t Schaden--67 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I [114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, [84] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends 476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of [115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, • [182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the 621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva) [84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

2: Schadeu--68 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani Sh44

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476 504 293 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it [293] to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

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476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 •182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

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128 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal • [82] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything: they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group: finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/78 cont./

no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayové is like a beast, because he does not know the opinion of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayové a marriage ceremony, which was just conducted by the Kandeyú or paí (contrary to what Ximénez de Sousa told me), not by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "padrinos" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayové the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

In bygone times the Kayové used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha: nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Kandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /??/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the description to old Capitão Manoco, Poyãj. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

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The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékoakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
842 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
•182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
• 182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the ñanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the ñanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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622 624 • 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] ñvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

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771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
•182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
184 nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

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[775 774 842 796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

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Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the ñanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

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774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porîvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Oîimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 • 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/122 cont./

782 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 • 182 [796] [424] [787] Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each individual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová, [184] [424] [787] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to [786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 424 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

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782 126 828 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him afterwards. The attitude of Paĩ Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual. It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suitable for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 829 One final observation with reference to the function of the prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign concepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional doctrines themselves.

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182 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

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[703] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

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753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [179] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

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It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

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2: Schaden--183 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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563 177 178 771 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in 771 177 576 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple [184] gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 177 178 [182] [578] Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunderstandings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of cooperative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo, 771 177 178 159 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal, died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré, [775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

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which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (afff). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them [821] in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of afff. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the [822] Nandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by afff, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
• [182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very dif-
ferent attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[787] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a ñemongaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

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77 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
179 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the prob-
lems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the reli-
gious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies
of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the tra-
ditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the pre-
dominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase
is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a
minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only
after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
● 182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an emi-
nently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the
importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events
in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/184 cont./

534 one is of yvaká ỹ (considered a male plant, so they said me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkaã ʃ, with a string of pindó ryrʃ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (mbáiraká) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
[533] sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
mouth: the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapé ʃ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapé ʃ djáwá
829 (the ending reta, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic: there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Maçal de Souza, the guyrapé ʃ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /185/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride: to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
• 182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

2: Schaden--197 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poĩpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

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539 177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many people.

538 167 • 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components [829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
• 182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykey,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

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771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbũá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuſta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuſta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [179] characterize life in this world. Both the name of the savior hero [797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 167 181 [184] Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbũá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

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183 771 772 648 [796] [124] [828] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." [782] And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the realm of happiness. [124] The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- [829] All this reminds us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédja as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [182] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá'ídja. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

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77 182 829 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 179 182 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 182 829 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

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the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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77 182 177 178 [557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaranf finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaranf conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con- [184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 177 178 182 [621] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with [756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is [624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./ to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

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828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

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Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts,

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anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

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177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

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and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/

Conclusion

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Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

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All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

2: Schaden--229 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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182 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities; after the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to detribalization.

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181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
179 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

177 Since Guaranî society does not give prestige to individuals
433 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
18 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
[554] as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaranî, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaranî still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[189] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapúi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapúi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapúi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãuí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[189] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128 177* 182 •

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational?

2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes?

3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organized into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis* Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for example, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organised which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular acculturational causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the acculturational causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognised can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause. (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

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One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

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CONFIGURATIONAL ANAL

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I. CAUSES OF ACCULTURATION

a. Cayuá practically guaranteed protection from hostile attack by whites or other Indian tribes; are effectively prevented from participating in attacks themselves.

b. Metal implements introduced by whites, especially machete, axe, and hoe.

c. Cayuá gradually restricted as to territory, by retreat from whites, by encroaching settlers, and finally by SPI settlement of them upon designated reservation.

d. Game supply of animals formerly used by Cayuá for food gradually reduced because of coming of whites with firearms and their domestic animals.

e. Introduction of trade goods, cloth, salt, soap, tools, pots, lard, mate, meat, hats, and "luxury" and non-essential items.

f. Growth of an external (white) market for varying amounts of Cayuá male labor, with some desire to make such labor obligatory for Cayuá.

g. Development of external market for small quantities of some kinds of Cayuá products, principally agricultural products, but also certain craft items.

h. White political usages which tend to centralize authority in single individual for whole community.

II. EFFECTS OF AC

A. Primary or Imm

a. Agriculture becomes more i economy.

b. Relative economic importanc (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficiency agriculture. Not only more possible but can be done cla

d. Loss or decline of certain ac

e. Labor relations with Neo-Br entailing dealings for white g terms of it. (Incidentally th intimate present point of con societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Br and increase involving both
1) buying--white goods
2) selling--small amou Cayuá products.

g. Establishment of office capita sargento.

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CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF CAYUA ACCULTURATION

II. EFFECTS OF ACULTURATION

A. Primary or Immediate Effects

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a. Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy.

b. Relative economic importance of hunting and fishing (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficiency and productivity in agriculture. Not only more agricultural work possible but can be done single-handedly.

d. Loss or decline of certain native industries.

e. Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers (changes), entailing dealings for white goods or for money or in terms of it. (Incidentally the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the two societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase involving both
1) buying--white goods and
2) selling--small amounts of certain Cayuá products.

g. Establishment of office capitão and his deputy, the sargento.

II. EFFECT

B. Second

b' Individual economic di
specialization (both m
male alternatives (La
own agriculture or in

c. Division of labor: Indi
work) becomes relativ
basic activities, notab

d. Polygyny: less freque
existent.

e. Production-consumptio
basic unit shifts from
family. Closely relate
1) a change to co
2) a modification
location of ho

g' Economic attitudes: (
become more individu
ness and helpfulness.)
greater commercializa

a. Division of labor by se
in work of agriculture.

f. Kinship system: disco
rights of mother's br
considered incestuous.

h. Political structure: (
community and establi
aboriginal household (
decentralized control.

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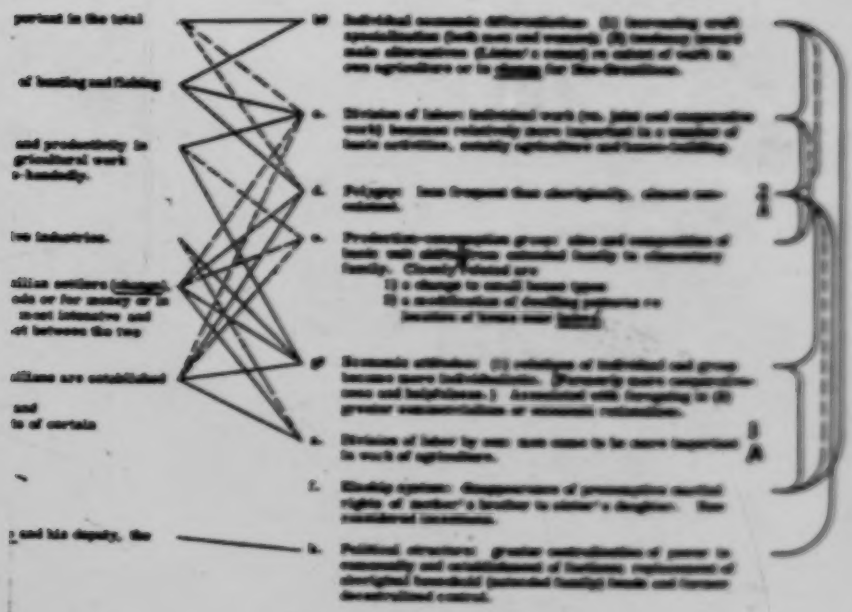
SIS OF CAYUA ACCULTURATION



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causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon relatively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that depended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 • 182 648 22 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[180]

*177 182 241 22 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II. A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse relationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[181]

*177 182 241 412 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural

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[180] The cattle, and in a few cases mules, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculturist, however. These being near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their fields obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [181] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

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work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools.

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis.

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork.

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes.

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts.

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

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*177 • 182 439 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 182 439 285 286 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 182 464 648 439 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

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goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" as distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

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tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differentiation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alternatives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *chaco*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Chaco* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *chaco* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that (II. A. e.) the *chaco* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own production as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

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suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen.

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[169]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalisation, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture."

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[170]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

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[169] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not really recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is even becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still on so small a scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own fields.

[170] Lowie, 1948, p. 28.

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why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[580]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[581] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. c.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

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[580] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[581] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 152).

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time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *changa* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *changa* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasised by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, or least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of wax.

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*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along
• 182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal time. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
182 *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, nor this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yete the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural products) which they give to the whites

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in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[20]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house *near babad*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[21]

[20] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analyzed.

[21] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Herskovits' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations, sentiments, and interactions*. (Herskovits, 1947, pp. 12 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Herskovits' scheme, practically the same thing as *operations possible on the environment*,

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The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *chasqa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

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this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[10]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[10] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating blutsverwandte. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite considerably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

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tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[169] The patrilocal extended family, for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapúi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapúi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapúi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapúi*, they have certainly not made *tapúi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[170]

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[169] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupí-Guaraní, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have enlisted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warfareness early in the acculturational period.

[170] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapúi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapirí) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

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Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling patten represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[169]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the outer of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow least used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[169] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

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*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
• 182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
594 to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
596 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
621 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian popula-
tion, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
182 (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
156 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in senti-
ments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

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ness such as might exist if *changa* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *changa* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *changa* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *changa* "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *changa*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *changa*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *changa* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *puxirão*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

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*177 *182 43 181

one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

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II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have become considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

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[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

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There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173]

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *koiwi*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit.

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men.

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*177 • 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[179]

621 591 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapúi*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[179] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

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Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately concerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

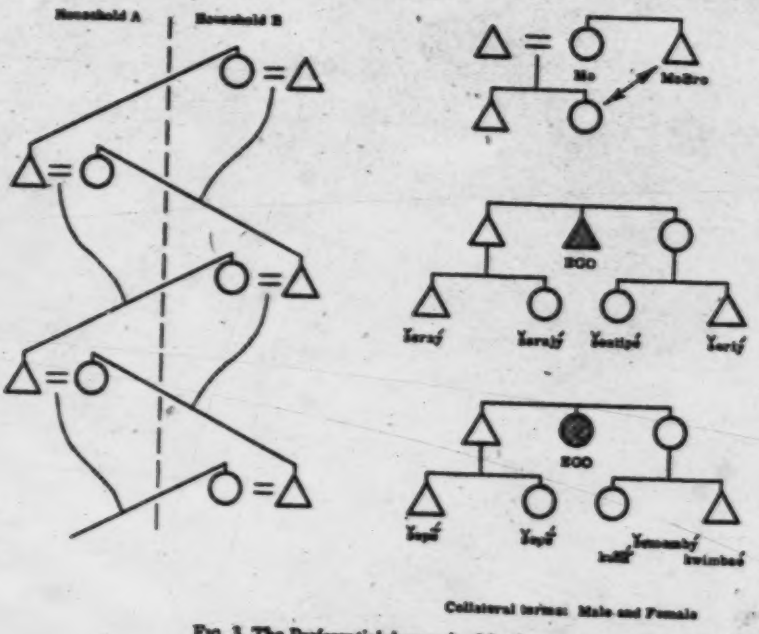

FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

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separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

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One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

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Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indigenes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called *capitán* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupí-Guaraní peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hostile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans (*paí*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vide* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim*. "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 • 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *vox populi*.

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601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
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/44 cont./

economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have indications that certain features of the kinship system have also changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are not known, just as the relations between them and that of the economy are not, although we may have indications that they exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as early as the sixteenth century (9)

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

•182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

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[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guaraní SM4
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In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23]

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[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel *for* fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture.

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[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for

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as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

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Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seeking the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agriculture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agriculture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

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instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

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Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

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[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

177 Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
182 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
434 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

434 The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
• 182 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
184 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
177 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *roça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
182 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
177 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

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The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.